6. Old Chiriguano of Tumbáia (Upper Pilcomayo). Note the enormous labret and the head band.

7. Kenapadyú, "captain" of the Caraparí region near the middle course of the Pilcomayo River. (Photo. A. M.)

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Plate V

1. Iwawaséi. Chiriguano Indian girl from the region of Cururuti (near the middle course of the Parapití River). Her hair is cut short as a sign of mourning for the death of an aunt. (Photo. A. M.)

2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the village of Ibopeyti (upper Pilcomayo). She has put on her festival clothes and sports her most beautiful necklaces. (On her chest, necklace of silver coins.) (Photo. A. M.)

Ethnos--50 E-5 (1970) 1000 SF/0 Chiriguano SF/0

Jr Mémoires--73 E-5 (1909) 1890 SP10 Chiriguano SP10

Plate VI

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(143) 1. Young Chiriguano, daughter of the "capitan grande" Kernapoti. Her cheeks are painted with bolaqueta powder.

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2. Chiriguano Indian girl from the Caranda region, considered a beauty by the Indians. (Photo, A. M.)

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Fig. 53. Mold for making tin labrets (tembeta; apua). Prov.: Tumichá. (1/3 nat. size.)

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Mold for Tembetas

The tembeta, or labret, of the Chiriguano are of tin. They make them themselves with the aid of the mold pictured here (Fig. 53). It is a calabash into which the fins of the labret have been hollowed out, while the thicker central part of the ornament corresponds to the end of a stick going through the calabash. The cavity produced in the central part of the labret is then filled with wax into which glass or turquoise beads are incrusted. These come from ancient burial-places and are sold to the Chiriguano by the half-breeds of Tarija.

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Balances

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The Chiriguano of the upper Pilcomayo and the Iglembé valley prize coca quite as much as the Quichua of the altiplano. Besides, it is from them that they got this vice. The fact is known and does not need to be demonstrated. This custom

A34 cont./

28 [191] The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/ type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth is rolled around as it is produced.

28 [190] Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld, 10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

29 [§ 30] I am reproducing in Fig. 95 a tsumbi headband. These ornaments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

29 [198] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly [Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig. 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians. In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not give it up to me for any price. At Caruzutí, an old fellow desirous of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary to celebrate Easter fittingly.

198 The shirts (tiru-kumbaé) which the men formerly sported exist no more except in the memory of the old men.

[See p. 278--Analyst]

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The contrast between a highly evolved pottery and a still rudimentary art of weaving is characteristic of the Indians of the tropical and subtropical regions of South America, at least for those who can pass for being relatively civilized, such as the Arawak and the Karib /Carib/.

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Fig. 95. Headband (tsumbi). Prov.: Yumbía. (1/5 nat. size.)

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302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 515 824 412 388 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds,

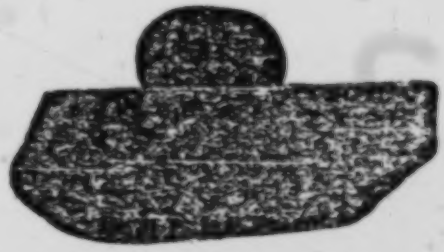

Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton threads forming a design.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano women still dress in tipoys, a long, sacklike garment, fastened on both shoulders with thorns or sometimes with luxurious silver pins (pl. 42, *right*). Some tipoys (tiru) are so long that they need to be folded. 291

Anciently, *Chiriguano* men shaved their foreheads, as did the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. At a later period, men and women wore their hair long and carefully groomed it with combs. These were artistically carved from a single piece of wood; some of them were cut into the shape of animals. Men wrapped their hair around the head and kept it in place with a headband. 302 412

Women part their hair in the middle and tie it over the neck with a tasseled fillet, or with a ribbon across the forehead.

Body painting.—Both sexes formerly painted their faces and their bodies with urucú. In more recent times, women were content to smear their cheeks with urucú before taking part in a feast. Men stained their teeth black with a special grass. 302 178

Ornaments.—The distinctive ornament of the *Chiriguano*, even in modern times, is a tin labret studded with turquoise fragments (pl. 43; fig. 59, *e*). Originally, labrets were made of rosin, as were those of the *Guaraní* of Paraguay. Wooden labrets or a piece of reed inserted in the lower lip remains common among children and also among men too poor to acquire a metal labret. Some of the round tin labrets are more than an inch in diameter without including the flanges which hold them on the inside of the lower lip. 301 178

Feather ornaments almost disappeared after the migration and were replaced by typical Andean woven frontlets studded with metal plates. Men hung elongated silver plates from their necks; these ornaments probably originated from small metal tweezers worn in the same fashion (fig. 59, *a*). The most valued necklaces are composed of turquoise or chrysocolla beads which are traded from the Mestizos of Tarija or taken from the sepulchers of the people who preceded the *Chiriguano* in their habitat. Ordinary necklaces were once strung with shells or seeds, but now consist of glass beads. 301 177 [439]

Miscellaneous.—The *Chiriguano* have the deserved reputation of being among the cleanest Indians of South America. Men and women bathe several times a day, washing themselves with crushed fruits containing saponin. Soap is in great demand throughout *Chiriguano* territory. 515 824

Men depilated their faces and bodies with metal tweezers. 302

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The rivers in *Chiriguano* territory are not suitable for navigation; the only watercraft are crude rafts used to cross the Pilcomayo River. 501

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

MANUFACTURES

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Pottery.—*Chiriguano* pottery is, for the beauty of its painted decoration and the variety of its forms, outstanding in modern South America. The mixed origin of *Chiriguano* culture is reflected in the two types of earthenware vessels. The plain pots for cooking and the large jars for chicha, which did not differ from similar vessels of the Paraguayan *Guaraní*, were ornamented with fingernail impressions (pl. 41, *bottom, right*).

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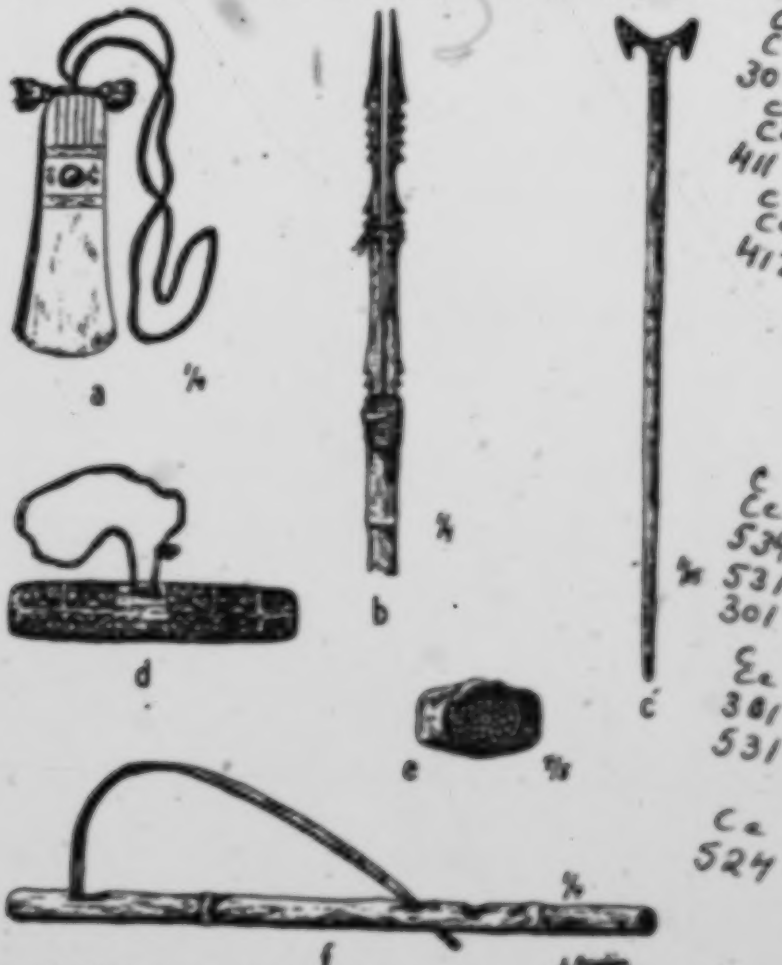

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FIGURE 59.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* manufactures. *a*, Silver pincers used as breast ornaments; *b*, bird arrow point; *c*, handle to wooden spade; *d*, wooden whistle used as ornament; *e*, tin-labret with mosaic inlay; *f*, *Chané* pea-shooter. (*a*, *d*, *e*, Redrawn from Rosen, 1924; *b*, *c*, *f*, from Nordenskiöld, 1920, figs. 29, 15, 5, 34.)

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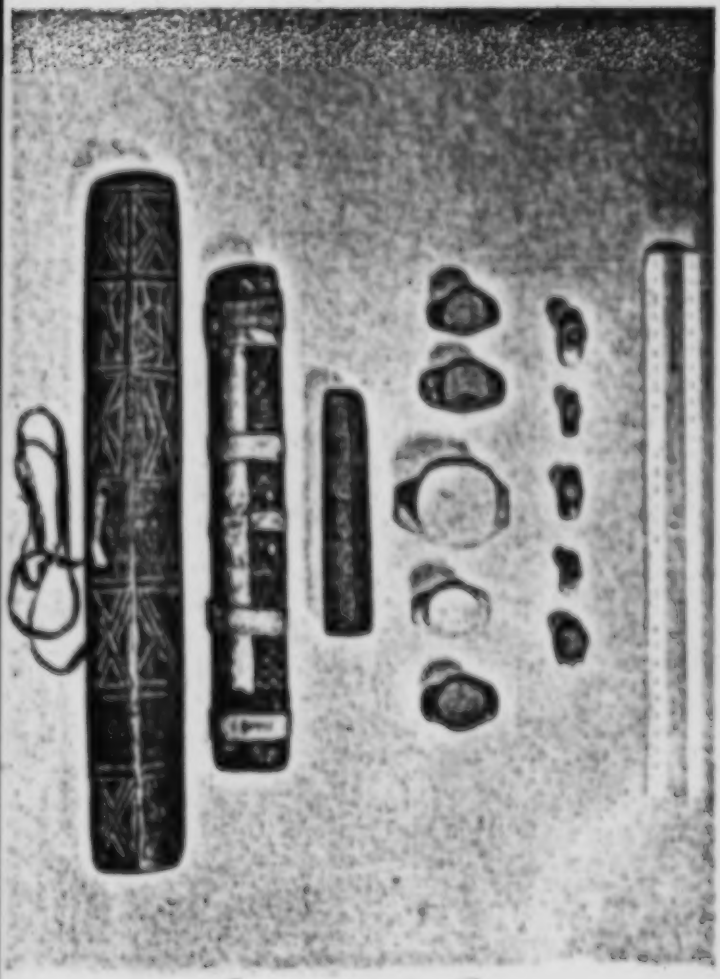

[End Plate 3]

4: Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Group of Chiriguano Women

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and does not know how to do it goes to the sorceresses, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

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One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Anduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true hells during an eclipse, because of the shouts, cries, whistles, and every warlike instru-
[114]
[648]
ment which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

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1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

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000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the [186] miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

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Clothing

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it 301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it 302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother, [256] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, [177] but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301 302 [177] buy in the store, so active since the founding of the mission. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Tapicuana /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[197] [114] [121] 1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291 294 285 To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves. Carandai; they bring them from the place where they are abundant. Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they trick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect 292 cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older 554 Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (7).

291 302 304 178 2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

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Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out, leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated, means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

•301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[529] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head, combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178]

1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Aflopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, aflopea.

/196 cont./

• 301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [179] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (?).

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2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

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Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perla/. Itogñi: necklaces, Rini, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogñi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogñi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

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• 301 Indian youths who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Tatita, which is abundant throughout the region.

[321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

[562] 1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha: a string of these with a large one in the middle. Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-tembeta, tembeta with bead.

114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Toux is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapûi women, whose he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Ionan.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mbotiu, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mbotichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/197 cont./

301 542 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (?).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Minduro necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infieles. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 197 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of those which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to wearing his face and arms, or wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk mantas, the young men the footwear and boots, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobs pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while some of the old women whom I knew wore earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

4: Miss--373 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cuña aguá ruú, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a variegated band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Yuqui expedition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Ana. I could not get one in the town: there were none even at that time.

Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /139/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adicientur vobis.

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration [illegible]

1. Sticks for getting fire.
2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quirquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

[illegible]

4: Nino--274 M-3 (1850-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/199 cont./

301 5. "Mboivera," or pieces of silver for adornment.
6, 7, 8. Metal tembetas.
9. A hollow-cane tembeta.
10. "Yapicuana," or band for the hair.
11. "Aguá," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.
412 12. Wooden comb.
534 13. Porongo for playing as a musical instrument.
14, 15. "Senene," or Chiriguano flutes.
16. "Igüiramimbi" for playing as a musical instrument.
17. Bone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

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2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

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SF1 198 199 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently, and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Pomé after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where 226 462 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Pacirema.

88 [195] /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and not a boy, the time to give up the ĭ ĕ of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, [304] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is [301] necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of [885] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, [994] Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/SF8 cont./

•301 [305] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks: a little wax is put in it, and the ornament, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the ingili, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (1).

1. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone: the literal meaning comes from ingili, which is a stone. The ingili is also set in those of wood.

179 301 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the in one, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [304] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [335] The ingili had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the ingili is not found in [191] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/. /SF8/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the ingili, or green stone.

/230 cont./

304 307 308 (304) Then the one doing the operation looks among his implements for the string with which he takes the exact measurements so that the hole will be in the middle and above the chin. Then he prepares the Guanpirasa, which literally means piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have believed that the guanpirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guanpirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a curtains needle, which they call Yargû in Quichua /Quechua/ (1).

304 413 308 (114)

1. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 309 308 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements with a string; he puts his hand on his guanpirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, enlisting the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guanpirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In Chiriguano this tube is called Temberandi, or white tembeta.

• [301]

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304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

• 301 [326] [439] [199] The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

301 191 The Tembeta in Other Tribes

The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world: in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

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171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembera is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

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1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

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776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

4: Nino--317 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/233 cont./

301 773 776 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 173 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity 959 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy. I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

●301 The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the
527 place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The
[302] coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

4: Nino--384 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Chavoti SK6

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Group of Chorotí Indians

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765 589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /296/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to; they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302] [301] [292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 30 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

589 589 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

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S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Fig. 24. Old Chiriguano Indian with a big »Tembeta». Tiháipa, Bolivia.

XII.

Articles connected with the deformation of the body. »Tembeta».

All Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation and, in a few of the Chiriguano villages, the younger men and boys also wear a so-called *tembeta* or lip-button in the under-lip. The custom of boring the lips is wide-spread in S. America. DALL, DENIS, NETTO, UHLE and VERNEAU-RIVET have drawn up summary tables to which I beg to refer, at the same time making some additions based on notes I have made from the literature on the subject to which I have had access.

The tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians is made, as a rule, of tin and in shape reminds one of a cap with a peak at both the front and back. (fig. 25)

Schmeltz E-S/(1908-1908, 1913) 1930
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP8

The back is somewhat concave enabling it to rest conveniently on the chin-bone. The front is round and flat and does not project beyond the lip. The metal is hollowed at the front and filled with wax, in which are fastened green or blue stones or glass beads of the same colours. In a grave at Caipipendi I found a tembeta of wood of the shape here described, in which a round piece of green glazed earthenware is inserted. For every-day use both the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes have lip-buttons of wood which are shaped like flat wooden cylinders. The Chané usually have smaller lip-buttons than the Chiriguano. Cuvoli[1]) mentions lip-buttons of resin among the latter Indians from the 18th century.

I make no attempt here to show on the map the distribution of lip-boring in S. America.[2]) As was mentioned, it is very considerable. The idea of inserting stones or beads fastened with wax in the tembeta is almost confined to the Chiriguano and Chané.

It might almost be suspected that they got this idea from the Whites, who now have an extensive manufacture of metal tembetas in order to sell to the Indians. This is not the case, however, for Schmidel writes of the Karkhokhies (Gorocotoques)[3]) who dwelt in N. W. Chaco: — »Pero sus mujeres tienen un canutillo asegurado à los labios en el que meten ellas una piedra verde ó grisa. Of what material this »canutillo» was, we are not informed. In Chili[4]) a tembeta of stone has been found with a cavity in which possibly another stone or the like had been set.

The metal tembeta is here probably, though not neces-

[1]) P. 331

[2]) (This) because few of the old writers have given any detailed description of lip-buttons.

[3]) (1) P. 264. (2) P. 64. »Ihre weiber aber haben ein kleins stücklin gemacht in dem lefftzen, darein sie ein grienen oder grabenen christallen stein stechen.«

[4]) Medina (1) Fig. 77. From Freirina.

Schwedenstiftg E-6,4 (1908-1909. 1913) 1910
SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP4

Ea 301 171 [495]

sarily, post-Columbian. Castelnau[1]) mentions silver tembetas from Mojos as early as the 17th century, and in Ecuador a tembeta of gold has been found.[2]) Cunisset[3]) writes of the Chiriguano: «Les hommes se percent la lèvre inférieure, ils y attachent un petit cylindre d'étain, ou d'argent ou de resine transparente.» It is not impossible that the Indians of this part, viz. the Chané, had lip-buttons of silver in pre-Columbian times.

The highly specialised type of tembeta which I have here likened to a cap with both front and back peak, is not now found in use in S. America elsewhere than among the Indians here dealt with and some few Tapiete who learned its use from the Chiriguano.

Similar tembetas of stone have been found at the Rio Negro in Patagonia[4]), in San Juan[5]) in Argentine, in central Chili[6]), at Tiahuanaco[7]); at Parana-Mirí[8]), Minas Geraes[9]) and Pernambuco[10]). Here may also be included a tembeta of gold described by Rivet and Verneau from Chordeleg in Ecuador. This type of tembeta is also found in Mexico and in western N. America. This lip-button is best characterised by saying that, when inserted in the lip, it looks like a round disc.

The type of lip-button most closely resembling those described here, have a more or less spike shape when seen from the side. While the Chiriguano tembeta projects either not at all or very slightly beyond the lip, in the spike-shaped

[1]) P. 340.
[2]) Rivet (4) and Verneau Pl. XXIV, Fig. 10.
[3]) P. 331.
[4]) Lehmann-Nitsche (4).
[5]) Debenedetti (4) P. 58.
[6]) Medina (1); Uhle (5) P. 8.
[7]) Uhle (1) Vol. 1, Pl. 19, Fig. 23 and 24.
[8]) Debenedetti (4) P. 57.
[9]) Netto Pl. 8.
[10]) » »

Schwabenschild 8-4-5(1899-1905, 1913) 1892
SF33 Chiriguano SF33
Chaco SF3

tembeta one sees a point projecting shortwise more or less beyond the lip in a downward direction. The cross-piece which prevents the lip-button from slipping out does not broaden into a flat disc approximately following the shape of the chin. Length, shape and material may very considerably.

The oldest type of lip ornament probably consisted of feathers, etc., fixed in a hole in the underlip. To keep this hole extended, it was ordinarily filled by a wooden plug or the like. This consisted, like the everyday tembeta of the Chiriguano and Chané, of a plain wooden cylinder. This shape was subsequently changed and more ornamental material substituted for the wood. Some tribes merely made the wooden plug bigger and bigger, e. g. the Suyá[1]), Botokudo[2]) and Lengua.[3]) As a rule it was, no doubt, not very hard to make the wooden plug stay in the hole. *When it was exchanged for more ornamental material such as resin, and, above all, stone, it became necessary to give the tembeta such a shape as would prevent it slipping through the hole.* The Chiriguano Indian wooden tembeta is merely cylindrical; the heavy metal tembeta is cap-shaped.

The Hoari tembetas of wood are likewise cylindrical. The upper part of the smoother tembeta of resin is made thicker, so that it cannot slip through the hole.

The Chiriguano and Chané evidently have a very specialised form of tembeta which would appear to be fairly late. Its distribution over the continent of America does not, however, support this view. The type is found in Mexico and N. America as well as in S. America. The question arises whether we may not, in this case, imagine a parallel evolution. Wherever the attempt has been made to make tembetas of heavier material than wood, *it has been found necessary to make them more or less T-shaped.* It is in

[1]) Karl von den Steinen (2).
[2]) Wied.
[3]) Adam (2) P. 390.

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SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chané SP8

fact, the only possible shape. It was quite natural that both in N. and S. America the tendency was to shape the tembeta in such wise that it should lie conveniently on the chin-bone.

The most highly specialized type of tembeta is found along the Rio Araguaya among the Karajá and Kayapó.[1]) There are in these parts a number of different types of lip-button, and it is natural to ask whether such a variation of tembeta types was not formerly common in other parts. In other districts where the Indians still wear tembetas there is no similar variation in type. One sees only two or three different types. Nor it is likely that type-variations of stone tembetas have been much greater than is indicated by the material hitherto collected. The distribution of stone tembetas, on the other hand, may have considerably exceeded what we know at present.

Kayser[2]) has pointed out how different kinds of tembetas are worn at different ages among the Karajá. The Chiriguano when merely boys wear the wooden plug. Lery[3]) says that the Tupinambá boys had bone tembetas of conical shape. When they were full-grown (attained puberty?) they received tembetas of stone which, in part at least, had a shape similar to that of the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas. Very likely the narrower, spike- shaped tembetas which Dobrizhoffer[4]) described from San Juan were for boys' wear, while those which resembled the Chiriguano and Chané tembetas were for grown-ups.

A writer as early as Vaas de Caminha[5]) mentions various kinds of tembetas among the Indians whom Cabral met with when he came to the coast of Brazil.

It is evident that the spike-shaped tembetas belong to an older era of civilization than those of capshape. The

[1]) Krause P. 220.
[2]) P. 190.
[3]) (4) P. 98.
[5]) P. 180 a, 180 b, 180 d, 180 i, 180 l.

Schmidt-Schlid E-S (1900-1906, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF8

former have in S. America a much wider distribution than the latter. When both types existed together, as was the case among the Tupinambá, the boys had to be content with spike-shaped variety, while the men had the cap-shaped. For the latter kind a specially valuable material was employed, viz. a rare kind of green stone.

In all likelihood it was from the Andine area of civilisation that the cap-shaped tembeta spread to Patagonia to the Chané, Chiriguano and Tupinambá. This must have happened before the time of the Incas. At the time of the conquest the Incas had no tembetas. The discovery of tembetas of this type at Tiahuanaco supports the notion that we have here to do with a culture-element which spread south and east during the Tiahuanaco period.

Should an attempt be made to draw a diagram showing the evolution of tembeta-types, I imagine it would be pretty much as follows (fig. 27).

Out of the small cylindrical wooden plug which still occurs everywhere for the purpose of keeping the lip-button hole open, and to extend the same, three types have been specialised:

(1) The exaggeratedly large, flat, round wooden disc;

(2) The more or less spike-shaped lip-button;

(3) The flat cap-shaped tembeta.

Of these (1) is most likely the oldest, (2) next and (3) the most recent.

If the cap-shaped tembeta in this part of America comes from the Andine area of civilisation, the Chiriguano have probably taken it westwards again. The Chané generally have quite small tembetas, this being the reason why they are scornfully called by the Chiriguano ».uña-reta« (women). It is probable that they learned the use of this ornament from the Chiriguano. Of the Chaco tribes visited by me it is only the guaranised Tapiete who have tembetas.

The Chiriguano and Chané men never pierce their ears.

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MV10 Chiriguano MV10
Chaco MV

Formerly the chiefs wore ear-rings with pendants of green stones. Among these Indians the only women with pierced ears are a few of the younger ones who have learned from the Whites the custom of wearing ear-rings. These ornaments are also obtained from the Whites. Oddly enough, the barbarous custom of piercing the ear is thus here an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites. Neither men nor women pierce the nasal septum.

Ee 304 [477]
Ee 301 [476]

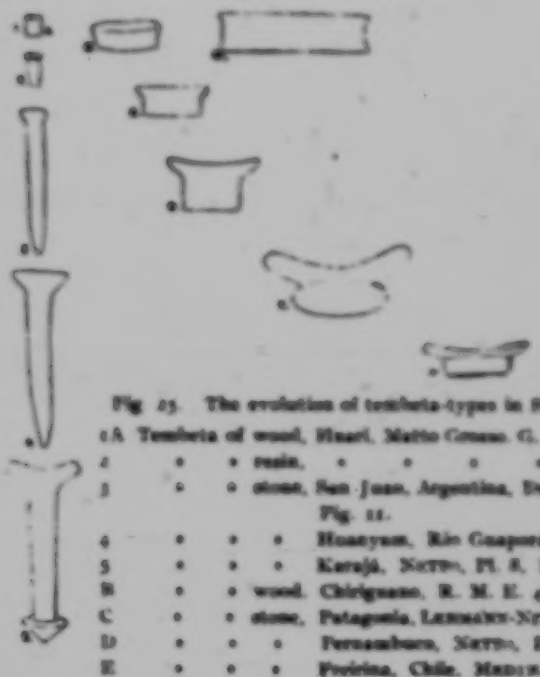

Fig. 23. The evolution of tembeta-types in S. America. 1/2

1A Tembeta of wood, Huari, Matto Grosso. G. M. 13. t. 334.
2 " " resin, " " " " 16. t. 298.
3 " " stone, San Juan, Argentina, DORBIGNY, (2) Fig. 11.
4 " " " Huanyam, Rio Guapore.
5 " " " Karajá, NEVES, Pl. 8. Fig. 6.
B " " wood, Chiriguano. R. M. E. 470.
C " " stone, Patagonia, LEHMANN-NITSCHE (2). P. 186.
D " " " Pernambuco, NEVES, Pl. 8, Fig. 4
E " " " Provinia, Chile, MEDINA (1). Fig. 16.
F " " metal, hollowed at the front and filled with wax in which are fastened glass beads. Chiriguano. G. M. 13. t. 549.
B1 " " wool, Suyá, Rio Xingú. URBAN (1) Fig. 34.

Schmidt-Bibl. I-3,4 (1909-1910, 1913) 1921
SP19 Chiriguano SP20
Chané SP8

seen in the villages about the upper Río Pilcomayo. When the hair is long it is not worn hanging down the back, as is the custom with other Indians wearing long hair. It is wound round the head, spat upon, and kept in place with a fillet. I have not seen any other Indians do their hair in this way. The women also have long hair, usually parted down the middle and braided. Braiding may have been introduced in post-Columbian times, though this is uncertain, as it was also common in the culture-area of the west.

The Chiriguano and Chané use combs, but no brushes. In Part I I have already dealt with different kinds of combs met with in the districts through which I have travelled. The Chiriguano only have plain wooden combs which are sometimes rather prettily carved. This type of comb is probably derived from the mountain civilization, as I have already pointed out in Part I.

The Chané have stick-combs, ebiáhchesháhmeno, and now and again, though rarely, plain wooden ones too. These constructed combs are, as a rule, one-sided, in contradistinction to the double-sided ones of the Chorotí and the Ashlúslay. Thus we see that the Chané type of comb is unlike the one found in old tombs in the Puna de Jujuy, and which now occurs among the Quichua and the Aymara, the Chorotí and the Ashlúslay. Chiriguano and Chané combs are used exclusively for cleaning the hair and are never worn as ornaments.

The use of the pincer or tweezer as a toilet article certainly came to the Chiriguano and Chané from the civilized zone in the west. They are of metal and are used for removing hair from the body. Nowadays pincers are usually made of the metal from some old tin can, but sometimes of silver. These pincers of silver also serve as breast ornaments for the men, and are called ebeivéra. They have to a great extent lost their original use, and are now simply used as ornaments. They have even sometimes been hammered together so that they can no longer be used as pin-

cers.

Fig. a, b

a) Implement of the Ute scraping hair. Chérigoure. R. M. E. 318.
b) " " silver " " " also used as breast ornament.
Chérigoure. R. M. E. 318.
c) Breast ornament of silver. " " 374
d) " " " " " " 378.

ores. They have become bigger and bigger. (fig. 26) These silver trinkets are not made any more by the Indians themselves, and it is likely that the majority of, or all the silver ornaments now found among the Indians have been made by white silversmiths.[1]) The shape is always Indian, but

[1]) Wyss is also of the opinion that the chokers is not of Indian make. P. 198.

the ornamental design not always so (fig. 26). It is difficult to decide whether the idea of the pincer as a merit brevet ornament is due only to the influence of non-Indian culture or not. Most likely the pincer was turned into mere ornament by the makers, who presumably used it as an article of barter and then increased its size in order to make it more and more coveted by the Indians. At last the makers themselves may even have been quite ignorant of its original use. Consequently we cannot be wrong in considering the depilatory an original Indian element of culture which has been transformed under the influence of

Fig. 27. Figure tattooed on the arm of a old Chiriguano Indian. ♀ Caipipendi. 1/2.

the Whites. There is no doubt that the pincer is a cultural element derived from the old culture area in the west. They are, as we know, quite common in collections from that part. The Chiriguano also sometimes use a piece of split reed for removing hair.

Tattooing occurs here, but is very rarely seen. I have only seen two Chiriguano women and one old Chiriguano man with tattooing on their arms. The old man had the figure depicted here (fig. 27) tattooed on his arm. If I understood him rightly, it used in old times to be quite common for the Chiriguano-men to be tattooed in the same way. I have seen no tattooed Chané men or Chané women. I have already given an account of the distribution of tattooing in S. America in the first part of this book.

Schmeltzkiste I-4 (1909-1909, 1912) 1801
N°10 Chiriguano N°10
Chaco N°4

XV.

Ornaments and Knick-knacks.

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Nowadays the Chiriguano and the Chané have but few personal adornaments. This is perhaps to a certain extent owing to their long intercourse with Whites. Feather-ornaments, pierced teeth, and such things are not seen. I have already described the »hoivéra«. The embellishments on these silver ornaments, especially the Swastika are, I think, not genuine Indian. In South America I know of the Swastika on pottery from the Mizque valley[4]), from Tiahuanaco[2]) and from Ica[3]) and Cajamarca[4]) in Peru. An ornament which most certainly originates from the civilized mountain region is the »topu« or breast-pin, which is peculiar to this region. An embellished one of silver is shown here (fig. 29 a). It was most likely made by a Mestiz smith. Necklaces worn by Chiriguano and Chané women are most often of glass beads, but one now and then sees ornaments of pieces of shells, turquoise and, other green and blue stones, black seeds and coral. The stones are said originally to have been found in the ground, especially in the Tarija valley.

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A very rare ornament is the head-dress depicted here (fig. 28). It was formerly worn by Chiriguano women on festive occasions. Even if it is now made of a material which the Indians have had from the Whites, it is quite

[1]) Nordenskiöld (11) Fig. 37.
[2]) Posnansky Fig. 39.
[3]) Max Schmidt (7) Fig. 34.
[4]) M. C. A. 176.

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Fig. 28. Head-dress for women. Made of stuff, tufts of yarn and tin. Chiriguano, Caipipendi, R. M. E. 32.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10

292 possible that the original idea was Indian and in that case
301 came from the civilized mountain region. The frontlet was
177 there a mark of distinction[1]).

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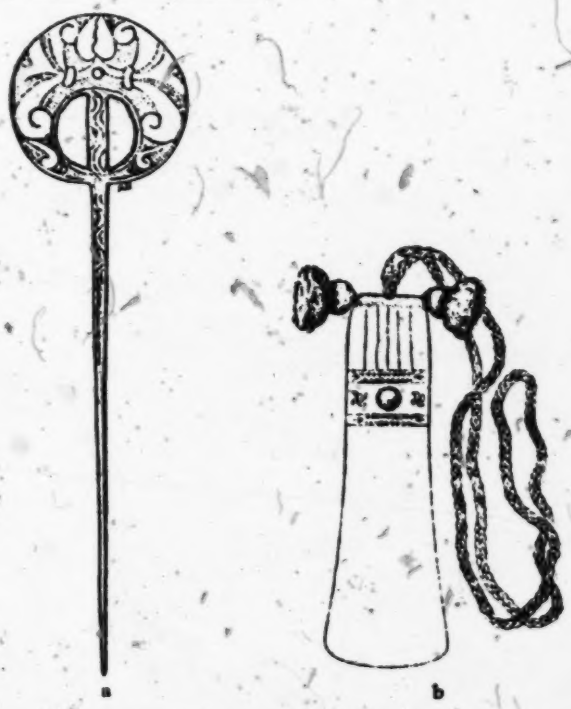

a b

Fig. 29. a. Silver pin used for fastening the »Tipoy». The shape Indian, embellishment Spanish. Chiriguano, Rio Parapiti. In Mr HERSMARCK's private collection. 1/3.
b. Breast-plate of silver »Boivéra», Chiriguano, Caipipendi. In my private collection. 1/3.

[1]) »Algunas cuñas usan en esta circunstancia ceñir la cabeza con una especie de corona de color rojo, por detras de la cual penden varios cordones que rematan en una borla. Este adorno, de que usan solo algunas y esclusivamente en el a r e t e, no deja de darles cierta gracia.» CORRADO P. 44.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
South American Indians S3

X 3. Piaroa Rio Ventuari, Communication by letter from Prof. KOCH-GRÜNBERG.

Baskets with lids which are opened like an ordinary cigar-box.

A. Graves on the Peruvian Coast. G. M. Very common in all collections of peruvian antiquities.

Some baskets from the Chiriguano have shapes which make them look like imitations of earthen vessels. (Fig. 53, C and D) Sometimes they even have an ear. Chiriguano and Chané baskets are very seldom ornamented.

Metal-work.

The only metal-work now occurring here is that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetas (lip-buttons) of tin themselves. Whether the Chiriguano and Chané before coming into contact with the Whites, themselves performed metal-work, I cannot say.

Stone-work.

The Chiriguano and Chané do not now work stone.

Wood-work.

For their wood-work the Chiriguano and Chané now use exclusively tools obtained from the Whites.

Weaving.

Among the Chiriguano I saw two types of loom; among the Chané only one.

The loom found among the Chiriguano and Chané is characterized by the completed product forming a ring (seamless) N. B. if so desired. The warp is set up as shown in the outline drawing, (Fig. 55,3) and in the sketch of a band-loom from the Chané. (Fig. 55, 1). When the ring is

[text continues on p. 176]

5tNordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

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According to CORRADO[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira» and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua», and a carved stick the »iguirape». I have

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only seen the »yandugua». Among the Chané I have seen plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

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Ce
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I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authority among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano, Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and

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also among the Chiriguano. LOZANO[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. CREVAUX[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement». KOCH-GRÜNBERG[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. GILIJ[5]) says that the

[1]) P. 43.
[2]) P. 298.
[3]) P. 164.
[4]) (2) 1 P. 260, Fig. 142: P. 297, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 2 P. 193.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

dians. A handicraft the Chiriguano and Chané have learnt from the Whites, is tanning.

The dwelling-places of these two tribes have been greatly changed under the influence of the Whites. I have noticed the same phenomenon in several other tracts. The Yamaica, a small Peruvian tribe that I visited in 1904, a few years after its discovery, had already given up the old type of hut and built huts on the pattern of the houses of the Whites. The Huanyam, a small tribe near the Rio Guaporé in Brazil, which had not long been under the influence of the Whites (or more correctly, the negroes), now builds huts on the model of the houses they see at the rubber barracks. Several similar examples could be recorded. Everywhere it is the introduction of the white man's implements, so excellent in comparison with the stone axes, that has brought about the revolution.

The negative influence of the Whites has of course been very great here. The primitive tools have disappeared, a number of implements and ornaments have become rare or have vanished, a quantity of domestic industry has become superfluous, since readymade things have been purchasable from the Whites. The Indian domestic industry is gradually disappearing, but is not transformed under the influence of the Whites.

A race like the Chiriguano or Chané, when it falls under the influence of a culture, such as the Whites', which is very strange to them, very soon, as a rule, utilizes for its own ends such elements as smooth for them the struggle for existence. We know, for instance, with what incredible rapidity the culture of the banana spread among the Indians soon after the Discovery of America, and that in many places it rapidly became one of their most important cultivated plants. And I have already mentioned that, a few years after its introduction, poultry-keeping spread far and wide among the Indians in S. Brazil.

In the matter of ornaments and adornments the Indian

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

is conservative, which may partly be connected with the fact that for him, as KARSTEN has pointed out, colours and ornaments have a great magical importance. When the Chiriguano and Chané obtain by barter glass-beads for their labrets, these must be blue, like the turquoises they were wont to fasten in them.

When they come across anything in the culture of the Whites that approximates to their own conception of the ideal, the Indians have no difficulty in adapting it to their own use. We know that the dance mask is an Indian practice: it is therefore quite natural for the Indians to have embraced the carnival of the Whites with great interest and have added to it their own dances, in which they appear with masks on.

B. *The influence of the bronze age culture on that of the Chiriguano and Chané.*

In the table 21 I have put together the cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané have very probably obtained from the culture zone in the west. We can see at a glance that this influence has been very considerable. The positive influence has been greater even than from the Whites.

If we look into the table we shall find that the Chiriguano and Chané have especially learnt from the culture zone in the west such things as are connected in some way with festivals. Here belong the men's festal attire, several adornments worn by men and women, the feather parasol, the finer sorts of pottery, the ornamentation of calabashes with pyrograving, several musical instruments, games, etc. When we know with what interest the Indians have embraced the festivals of the Catholic Church, wherever they have had an opportunity of doing so, it can easily be understood that the tribes that were neighbours of the Incas, also imitated their festivals.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

The hair is tended with very neat-looking wooden combs (fig. 196). Among the Chiriguano I also noticed composite combs of the type used in the Chaco (fig. 85).

Among the men as well as the women, the custom obtains of painting the face red, the pigment being prepared from Bixa orellana. Many of the men I met in the neighbourhood of San Luis had red-painted the whole face below the eyes, and some of the women had circular red spots, about 3 to 4 cm in diameter, painted on their cheeks. On the other hand, I did not see any tattooed Chiriguano. Instances of tattooing have, however, been noted by Nordenskiöld, who also has seen Chiriguano women who had stained their teeth dark blue with some vegetable extract.[1] In the past, tattooing as well as teeth-staining were commonly practiced by the Chiriguano.

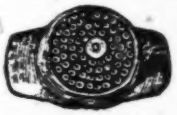

Fig. 197. Lip-stud (tembeta) of tin, with inlaid, pierced, turquoise-coloured glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 3/4. Riksm. 03. 3. 822.

Another Chiriguano ornament intimately connected with the human body is the lip stud (›tembeta‹), which is exclusively worn by men and by youths who have attained marriageable age. The Chiriguano lip stud of the present day consists of a hollow tin cylinder with two laminate projections (fig. 197). The cylinder is filled with some waxy substance, into which are embedded a number of small beads of stone, glass or porcelain, usually of a turquoise-blue colour. The lip stud is inserted from the inside, through a hole made in the lower lip, so that its circular, bead-beset, front surface barely shows beyond the skin of the lip. The base of the lip stud, which is slightly concave, then rests against the teeth of the lower jaw. This quaint ornament creates no displeasing impression, but should a Chiriguano take it out, he would look both pitiable and ridiculous, as the saliva then runs through the large hole in the lip. Hence it is considered disgraceful to be seen without the lip stud, and on many occasions I have noticed the women scornfully deriding such men as had sold their lip ornaments. As soon as a man had taken out his lip stud, he generally put his hand to his mouth for concealment until he had time to put in a substitute stud, usually made of wood.

The lip stud that is here shown, which weighs 18.5 grammes, has a base plate 3.4 cm long, and its cylinder is 1 cm high, with a diameter

[1] Nordenskiöld (32), pp. 83, 85 and (13), pp. 187—188.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

of 2.1 cm. It is decorated with one large and many small, turquoise-blue beads made of glass or porcelain.

Necklaces of stone or glass beads are worn by the women, and even men may occasionally be seen with them. One such necklace (fig. 198), which I bought of a Chiriguano Indian in the San Luis district, consists largely of pierced, cylindrical or laminate, turquois beads of exactly the same kind as I found when excavating the ancient site at Tolomosa in the Tarija valley.[1] The Chiriguano keep all stone beads they happen to pick up on the ground, and also acquire them by barter from other districts. Besides turquoise beads, there are also blue, white, and red glass-beads threaded on this necklace, which to me proved a particularly costly bargain. It is probable that such necklaces as wholly or in part are composed of ancient beads are looked upon as amulets. To this question I shall refer later, in connection with my account of the supposed magical properties of certain Choroti objects.

Fig. 198. Necklace of turquoises and glass-beads. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 905.

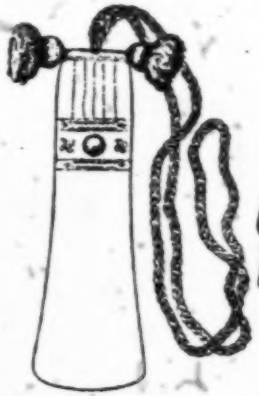

Fig. 199. Tweezer-like breast ornament of silver. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Bolivia. 1/2. After Erl. Nordenskiöld.

In the important work entitled »Comparative ethnographical studies», Erland Nordenskiöld describes, from the Chiriguano, an interesting breast ornament called »boivéra» (fig. 199), which I have not myself seen in use. It is of silver, doubled over tweezer-fashion, and worn on a string round the neck. Such tweezers, usually ornamented, are nowadays not put to any practical use, but exclusively worn as ornaments. The leaves of these tweezers are, therefore, sometimes hammered together. On good grounds Nordenskiöld advances his opinion that these ornaments originate from the small tweezers, or pincers, that, already in pre-Spanish times, were used by the Andean Indians for removing hairs of the beard, or

[1] von Rosen (1), p. 367 and fig. 332: 23—27.

7: Rosén E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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other inconvenient hair-growth, and which are still in use among the Chiriguano.[1]

I have noted a circumstance, previously unheeded, that, in my opinion, gives considerable weight to Nordenskiöld's theory as to the true Indian origin of the boivéra ornament. All breast ornaments of this kind have in their upper part a tubular horizontal perforation, open at both ends. In the middle of this barrel, and through the top, there is a hole. Through this barrel and upper hole is run the cord by which the ornament is worn round the neck (fig. 199). This rather peculiar arrangement for fixing the cord on which the ornament is hung, is found in the majority of such ancient Indian hanging ornaments, whistles and flutes of stone, as were meant to be worn a string. As an example, the remarkable ancient Indian stone flute, found in the earth in the vicinity of Iruya,[2] has at one end been bored through (fig. 200) in a manner exactly corresponding to the arrangement for the cord in the boivéra. This cord-fixing adaptation does not, to my knowledge, occur in any European object. For this reason it may surely be considered as very probable, not only that the original use of the boivéra as a pair of tweezers is of Indian origin, but also that the idea of carrying the tweezers on a string round the neck is Indian, and consequently has not originated from those more or less »white» jewellers that nowadays manufacture boivéra ornaments, and sell them to the Indians. I have in another book depicted a fragment of a small, pre-Spanish, ornamented bronze tweezers, which, like the boivéra, has a circular perforation at its upper end,[3] indicating that those tweezers, too, were worn on a cord, and consequently also in all likelihood served as a breast ornament.

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Fig. 200. Pan-pipe of stone. Ground-find from Iruya. Bolivia. 1/3. The dotted line marks the hole for fastening a string in the same way as for the breast ornament, fig. 199.

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[1] Nordenskiöld (12), pp. 81—83, 92 and 94.
[2] von Rosen (10), pp. 147 and 148.
[3] von Rosen (10), fig. 211.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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by them to any considerable extent; I myself never saw any Chiriguano smoking.

The Chiriguano are very fond of music and dancing. Their musical instruments consist of a kind of primitive trumpets of cow-horn, reed flutes, whistles and drums.

An interesting Chiriguano whistling pipe is here reproduced, in fig. 227. It consists of a flat piece of some hard and heavy wood; is 18.5 cm long, 3.6 cm wide, and has a section as set out in the figure. It has, pierced through its longitudinal axis, a tubular perforation, 7 to 9 mm in diameter, and open at both ends, running from end to end of the instrument. In the centre of its upper edge there are two, somewhat smaller, holes through which is threaded the string which allows of the pipe being worn round the neck as a breast ornament. The carrying cord running through two holes, side by side, probably indicates that the pipe was meant to hang horizontally on the breast. If there had been only one hole for the cord, the pipe would have tilted one way or the other, like the beam of a pair of scales. The pipe is designed for blowing on in the

Fig. 223. Food bowl of earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest of it painted yellowish white, with ornaments painted in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 846.

Fig. 224. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. The rest painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 843.

Fig. 225. Hanging bowl, for keeping small articles. Earthenware. Inside and bottom unpainted. Otherwise painted yellowish white, with ornaments in dark brown (marked black) and red (represented by thin lines). Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 844.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

534 same way as Pan pipes, and *naturally gives out tones, when one end of the tube is closed, different to those producible with both ends open.* The pipe is open at both ends, therefore, not only because this allows the instrument to be easily cleaned from dust, dirt and saliva, but also because *this construction gives the possibility of a greater number of tones.*

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Fig. 226. Bowl, of calabash, up-turned, with pokerwork ornaments. Chiriguano. Caraparí, Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 831.

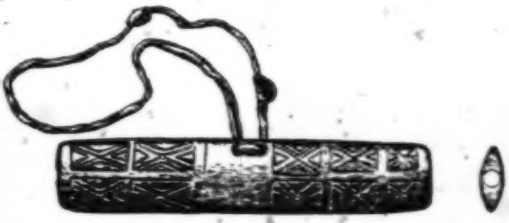

Fig. 227. Whistle, made of hard, black wood. Incised ornaments. Two cracks near one end of the tube have been filled up with a waxy substance. Chiriguano. Aguayrenda. Bolivia. 1/3. Riksm. 03. 3. 848.

534 171 That the Indians occasionally also give a thought to keeping dust, etc., from getting into their whistling pipes, is, besides, evident from the pipe shown in fig. 228, which is an Araucan whistle from Cautin, Chile, a tubular piece of wood, 27.5 cm long. A common brass thimble is fitted over the lower end of the pipe, and for its top end there is a small, well made stopper of woollen-yarn, connected to the pipe with a string, so as not to get lost when taken out for the whistle to be blown. Concerning this stopper, Eric Boman, who has reproduced the pipe in one of his works, writes as follows: »Este tapón sirve para cerrar la boca del silbato, cuando éste no se usa, e impedir que entren allí tierra y otras impurenzas.»[1] »This stopper serves to keep the mouth of the whistle closed when the latter is not being used, and prevents dust and other dirt from entering.»

Fig. 228. Whistle, found at Cautin, Chile. From Boman.

Objects of tubular form, in construction corresponding to the one here reproduced in fig. 227, have been found in ancient Peruvian graves, and not only the Chiriguano, but also many other tribes now inhabiting areas in the neighbourhood of what once was the Inca domain, are still

[1] Boman (1), p. 518.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (›les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement‹).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded ›tembeta‹ (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

Se 829 /164 cont./ referring when he addressed a farewell speech to /165/ me, which began as follows: "Now you can tell your great chief that you saw us and our poverty..."

G S 823 The sense of direction of the Indians has been discussed a great deal. The Indian undoubtedly has a very highly developed gift of observation, but his sense of direction is not so

G 823 considerable. I wandered with the Guarayú Indians in eastern Bolivia for about 250 kilometers in deep, large forests which they did not know, and in which we often had to cut a path,

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Fig. 79. Old Chiriguano with large lip-plug. Tihuſpa.

G 823 step by step, with the bush knife. When the sun was covered with clouds, they often led me astray, as I could see by my compass. For a white man transplanted directly from city life into the wilderness, the Indian's intimate acquaintance with nature is remarkable. If one is accustomed to this life himself, he looks at the matter differently.

Ee 301 /201 cont./

As for native ornaments, one sees necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla beads and of black seeds.

Ee 301 172 [439] Ee [435] According to their own statements, the Indians find the stone beads in the ground where there are old dwellings and graves. The mestizos in the Tarija valley, who find a great many of these beads in their fields, sell them to the Chiriguano /202/ and Chané at high prices. In former times a necklace of these beads was paid for with a horse.

Ee 524

Fig. 105. Wax dolls. 1/1. Chané. Rio Parapiti.

Ee 302 The Chané and Chiriguano women wear the hair medium long, parted in the middle of the forehead, and sometimes tied at the nape of the neck or on the head with a band.

Ee 291 177 Ee 291 171 C 302 The men now all wear European attire. At /Fig. 107 appears here/ work, however, one not infrequently sees them in only a piece of fabric protecting the sexual parts. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, coats resembling those with which we became familiar among the Choroti and Ashluslay were very common. The older men, as well as the younger ones in the Chiriguano villages on the upper Rio Pilcomayo, wear the hair long, wound around the head, and held together, as a rule, with a red or blue band. Toward the front the hair is cut off; thus they have forelocks /203/ and a lock in front of each ear. The

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarãti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

6: Nordenskiöld--64 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

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/219 cont./ If her husband dies, the wife is supposed to cut her hair short. /220/ If she loved him very much, she does it twice. It is not until her hair has grown long again that she may enter into another marriage. If her father or mother dies, she cuts her hair short; if her child, her brother, or brother-in-law dies, she cuts it moderately short. Long hair means that it reaches to the shoulders. My question as to whether the men also cut their hair in mourning was answered with laughter. They content themselves with shortening only the longest. The men may not marry until about a year after the death of the wife.

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If the woman is in mourning, she wears no ornaments. When I was with Maringay, his daughter-in-law had lost her little child. Though all the other women in the village wore many necklaces, she did not have a single ornament. She also did not take part in any festivity.

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The Indians whom the missionaries baptize do not always like having to bury their dead in a cemetery. They at least want the dead to have water with them in the grave.

One does not free oneself so easily from the old, inherited ideas, in order to exchange them for new ones. /Pl. 18 appears here./

/221/ Chapter Thirteen

000 On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Ugly Words, Homosexuality, Suicide, Sense of Modesty, etc.

In the language of the whites there are, as is well known, a number of words that may not be used in polite society. Persons of the same sex may mention certain parts of the body only by their Latin names, whereas persons of different sex, as a rule, do not speak of them at all to one another. One word may be regarded as ugly, whereas another word for the same thing may be used at will. The reason why a word is forbidden is undoubtedly often difficult to determine.

Ee 831

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

Ee 622 293 643 [111]

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Athlulay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vušyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Ee 622 293 643

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yattira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

Ee 622 293 643 [301 302]

Ee 622 293 643

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always despoy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

E It is strange what a great
Ca role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[469] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
574 combed. Most of the old costumes
●301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

E with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ca turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
E pins which belong to the festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (Fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they

Ca are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in two, singing a monotonous song
533

A B

Fig. 118. Soup spatulæ. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

/287 cont./

The Man Who Killed Añatunpa.

539 [II 5]

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambiki on the Río Grande.

Añatunpa devoured all the human beings that he could catch. A man came along who was carrying wood to Añatunpa's cave. "Come, let's play!" said Añatunpa.

/288/ "What kind of a game?" said the man.

"You shall give me a blow on the forehead with an ax, and if I do not die, I shall hit you," said Añatunpa.

Añatunpa stood up straight, offered his forehead to the man, and the latter hit him directly in the middle of it. Since Añatunpa's forehead was as hard as iron, this did not affect him. Añatunpa now gave the man a blow on the forehead, killed him, and tossed

291 [77 531 •301

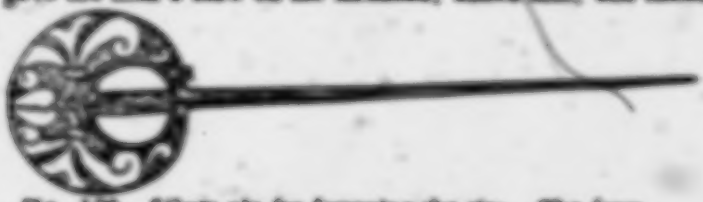

Fig. 130. Silver pin for fastening the tipu. The farm Indian, the ornamentation Spanish. Chiriguano.
Peruvian, 1/3.

539 him to Dyári, who devoured him.

On another occasion another man came to Añatunpa's cave. Añatunpa proposed the same game to him. Then a fly, "kibéru," called to him not to hit him on the forehead, but in the nape of the neck. When Añatunpa, with eyes closed, stood up to receive the blow, the man went behind him, struck him in the nape of the neck, and Añatunpa fell down dead. Dyári asked him how he was able to kill Añatunpa. The man told him what kibéru had said.

"Very good," said Dyári.

6. Nordenskiöld--141 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ca 539

/230 cont./

in the nostrils. The fox sneezed, wiped his nose, and said: "Can the tinamiformes not leave me in peace just when I am dreaming about the jaguar's wife and daughters with whom I slept!"

/231/ Now the jaguar tickled him a little more strongly, and the fox woke up. The jaguar prepared to seize him.

The fox hunched himself up, and when the jaguar hesitated before seizing him, he jumped to the ground with one bound and started running as fast as he could. The jaguar ran after him. Finally the fox grew tired, however, and the jaguar caught him and swallowed him. The fox came to life again in the stomach of the jaguar. The latter threw him up. The jaguar devoured the fox again, but again the latter came to life in his stomach and was thrown up again. Once more the jaguar devoured the fox, who again came to life, etc.

C [301] [534]

Ca [71]

This legend is widespread. In somewhat different form I

Fig.131. Silver chest-ornament. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. Worn by men.

heard it told in Carmen in Mojos.

C 539 [115]

When the Turtle "Carumbe" Killed the Jaguar.

Told by the Chiriguano Indian Yambási.

Once there was a great drinking bout. Aguaratunpa, Carumbe, and "Tatutapua" (the ball armadillo) were there. The little son of the turtle was crying. When they asked him why he was crying, he said he wanted to have the claws of the jaguar to play with. The wife of the turtle told her husband he should fetch the claws of the jaguar so that the little one could play with them.

C /23 cont./
302 Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

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[113]

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

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With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

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The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians, /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

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107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

C /24 cont./
301 account, Chiriguano men wore small cylinders of tin, silver, or resin in the pierced lower lip. It can perhaps be surmised that the aforementioned silver tembetás of the Chiriguano were formerly more common among them. According to
C Ce 301 Nordenskiöld, at the time of his trip, that is, in 1908 and 1909, all the Chiriguano and Chané men of the older generation, and in a few Chiriguano villages the young men and boys, wore the tembetá. Among the Izozó whom I saw in Toledo and in "15 de Agosto" only the old men had the tembetá (cf. Fig. 27 and 28 /see p. 61 /), and among the Chiriguano in Machareti I did not see any men with them.

Ce 301 126 Tembetás in the Collection

I. A. 729. Izozó. Length of the base 2.6 cm. Height of the cylinder 0.9 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1.5 cm. (Fig. 28b.)

I. A. 730. " Length of the base 2.8 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.3 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1 cm. (Fig. 28d.)

I. A. 731. " Length of the base 2.5 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.3 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 0.8 cm. (Fig. 28a.)

I. A. 732. " Length of the base 3.2 cm. Height of the cylinder 1.4 cm. Diameter of the cylinder 1.8 cm. (Fig. 28c.)

I. A. 733. " Height 2 cm. Diameter 1.8 cm. (Fig. 28e.)

The form of the first four tembetás mentioned is that of a cylinder placed on a base of the same metal. On the front surface of the cylinder is placed a disk of semiprecious stone, blue or green, which in three cases exhibits a round perforation in the center, which in two cases is filled with metal. The stone disk of the tembetá I. A. 729 is broken. The tembetá I. A. 733 is of
Ce 301 wax and has the form of an obtuse cone. The tembetás described by v. Rosen and v. Nordenskiöld are different from

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/24 cont./

those mentioned in that on the front surface in place of the semiprecious stone there were placed small blue or green stones, or also glass beads of the same color, placed inside a covering of wax with which the cylinder was filled. A good representation in a drawing of such a Chiriguano tembetá with glass beads has been published by v. Rosen (108).

108. v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 202.

C Ce 301

According to Nordenskiöld (109), the Chané tembetás

109. Nord. 1, p. 211. Nord. 2, pp. 71-77.

are generally smaller than those of the Chiriguano. Comparing the measurements of the tembetás I acquired among the Izozó with the measurements given by v. Rosen, this statement is justified with respect to the length of the base of the tembetás and with respect to the diameter of the cylinder. Certainly also these differences between the larger tembetá of the Izozó and the tembetá described by v. Rosen are very slight, this difference being only 3 mm. with respect to the length of the base and only 2 mm. with respect to the diameter of the cylinder. In contrast to this, the cylindrical part of three of these Izozó tembetás is rather higher than the corresponding part of the tembetá described by v. Rosen. While the height of the latter measures only 1 cm., the cylinders of the three Izozó tembetás have a height of 1.3-1.4 cm. The height of the fourth Izozó tembetá is almost like that of the aforementioned Chiriguano tembetá, being 1 mm. less than the latter. /Plates X-XI appear here./

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Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

C Ce [179] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

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Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

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114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

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At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

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Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

Ce /26/
301 The form of these bands, all of which have been made of cotton, is in general the same. As Fig. 32 shows, they consist of a long middle part which has at its two ends a sort of tassel made up of some strings provided with knots. The middle part generally consists of a cord plaited with three skeins of thread like a braid. But it can also be in the form of a band if more than three skeins of thread have been plaited as shown in Figure 32a. The tassels of these bands are made in the following way: The ends of the threads of the middle part are wrapped by another thread in such a way that knots are made with the same thread, one directly after the other or at a certain distance apart. The number of these pendants with knots varies between three and eight with regard to the bands in the collection, but in only four cases is the number over five.

From the figures given with regard to the length of these hair bands, it can be seen that their length can differ greatly. The longest band measures more than twice the length of the shortest in the collection. The bands have been made of threads of very different colors. Thus there are among them white ones, blue ones, or some of a violet or gray-brown color, with different shadings up to almost black. Generally, the middle part and the thread that forms the knots of the tassels are of the same color. Only in the case of band I. A. 629 is the color of the middle part different from that of the tassels.

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• 301 According to Lehmann-Nitsche, some of the Chiriguano women who were the subjects of his anthropological investigations also wore such bands in their hair, and therefore we can consider these to be a cultural possession common to the Izozó and the Chiriguano. But, according to this author, those that he saw among the Chiriguano women, which he describes as "cords decorated with a series of knots," were made of wool threads. The Chiriguano women used them in such a way that their hair was interlaced with them (116).

116. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

/26 cont./

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301 One head ornament used by the Chiriguano women at festivities and as a special mark of distinction is still to be mentioned. This ornament, described by Nordenskiöld, is made up of a forehead band with a long pendant tied to the back part as decoration (117).

117. Nord. 2, pp. 92 and 93 and Fig. 28.

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302 The Chiriguano and Chané men today in most cases wear their hair in the modern fashion, cut short. The two Chiriguano boys shown in Figure 7 are even wearing a side part with rodete /hair arranged on the top of the head/, perhaps
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302 especially prepared for the photograph. The hair of the Izozó boy shown in Figure 11 is rather long on the front part of the head, but the hair has been cut in the back and on the sides as
C well. Only the older men, and, according to Nordenskiöld,
302 in the Chiriguano towns of the upper Pilcomayo River the young men as well (118), wear the hair long and wrapped in a special

118. Nord. 1, p. 202.

manner around the head. Lehmann-Nitsche (119) reports to

119. Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., p. 56.

us specifically on this hair style of the old men as follows: "Their hair had apparently never been cut and was combed in a special manner; after it had been thrown to the back, they would part it into two halves with their hands, to the right and to the left, respectively, then the right half is brought forward and wrapped toward the left around the head
C in the form of a Muslim turban, while the left half is wrapped
[301] around the other way." The rodetes of the Chiriguano men described by Lehmann-Nitsche were tied up with ordinary
Ce handkerchiefs. Among the Izozó I found some narrow bands
30 /27/ which were used especially for this purpose, and
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/27 cont./

Men's Hair Bands Woven out of Human Hair

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These bands woven out of human hair correspond, with regard to their manufacture, to the bands that the Chiriguano and Chané make today in great numbers to sell to the whites. These "fajas," as they are commonly called today, represent an article eagerly sought by the whites who are in contact with these Indians, and especially by the soldiers, who wear them as a belt. One of the two Chiriguano men shown in Figure 6 wears such a faja as a belt, and, because we can surmise that today this is their principal use among the Chiriguano as well, we shall deal with them in the following chapter devoted to the description of clothing.

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C 29 177

Straw Hat (kandáo of the Chiriguano

I. A. 554. Diameter 30 cm. Height 12 cm. (Fig. 99.)

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The technique of this hat plaited out of palm-leaf fibers is not native since it is of modern manufacture. As Figure 9 shows, the Izozó men also wear such hats.

Caps Made with Crochet Hooks

I. A. 442 and 443. (Chiriguano.) Made of Wool. Height 15.5 cm. and 14 cm., resp.

These two crocheted wool caps, which I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti, must also be considered as of modern manufacture.

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Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, consisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

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The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

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132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

/29 cont./

301 [439] European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

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Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

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133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We 174 291 can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay [191] did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

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/33 cont./

Of Chiriguano and Chané ornaments there have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters the hair ornaments, the tembetá, men's ornament in the form of hair-plucking tweezers, and the earrings now used by women. Among other ornaments the only important ones are the women's necklaces. Most of the women I photographed were provided with necklaces (mbo'i) which consist exclusively of imported objects, such as glass beads, metal pendants, and similar things, and for this reason they have no ethnological importance. Nordenskiöld saw among these Indians necklaces made of beads of turquoise and "chrysocol" /chrysocolla/ and of black seeds (142). V. Rosen shows in a drawing such a

142. Nord. 1, p. 201. Nord. 2, p. 92.

Chiriguano necklace made of turquoise and glass beads (143).

143. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 198.

According to that author, these necklaces were sometimes also used by men (144). Silver pins for fastening the tipoys,

144. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 203.

in the form of those of the ancient Peruvians, can still be found also. But these too are not the product of an original industry, but are received from outside silversmiths (145).

145. Nord. 2, pp. 93 and 94.

C /33 cont./
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Ring (moãkaregua) in the Collection

I.A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

Ce 291 The cacique of the Izozó shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izozó: pʃapã). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69, Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

C 291 19 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

Ca 743 Ca [114] C [114] In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izozó were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

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148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux 1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

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Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

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Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

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While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

Ce 323 824 386 /56 cont./ paint on the rim, which is done with the resin of the palo santo (Bulnesia sarmienti), which is spread over the surface of the vessel after it has been baked (253).

253. Nord. 1, p. 246. Nord. 2, p. 144. Metraux I, pp. 386 and 387.

Ce 324 Ce 325 301 439 177 41

Working of Stone and Metals

The manufacture of stone implements is not done among the Chiriguano and Chané. The same can be said with respect to the manufacture of metal implements, except that the Chiriguano sometimes make their tembetá of tin themselves (254), while

254. Nord. 2, p. 171.

they ordinarily obtain their metal ornaments and implements from the mestizos and the whites.

C 322 [41]

Woodworking

Various objects made out of wood by the Chiriguano have already been mentioned above, such as house posts, ladders, plates, spoons, pipes, bows, arrow points, and also cuyas /vessels made out of gourds/ and calabashes. Among other objects made of wood we must also mention the mortar and pestle, various implements used in weaving, small sticks for making nets, large dishes used for keeping food, and flutes. Because the Chiriguano, when they work wood today, exclusively use modern tools obtained from the whites, they have not retained any of their native technique. /Plates XXII-XXV appear here./

C [177] [178]

A: Schmidt--165 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8
I2020
G4470 SP15

/63 cont./

CS 285 basket, which appears among many other Indian tribes of South America, in dealing with the corresponding baskets of the Guató Indians, and I refer here to the pertinent descriptions and diagramatic sketches made to explain the manufacture of this type of basket (267).

Ce [113]

267. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, pp. 221-227.

GO 824 285 Because the Guató use the pinnate leaves of the acurí palm as /64/ material for these baskets, they are able to leave the leaflets needed for plaiting the basket attached to the stem, which thus forms the upper edge of the basket. The Izozó, not Ce 285 [824] having pinnate palm leaves available, have to use the peltate leaves of the caranday. They must remove the leaflets of these in order to use them for the making of baskets. Therefore these baskets begin at the upper edge with a kind of braid, which unites the separate leaflets for plaiting the walls of the basket. As Figures 96 and 97 show, this braid begins and ends with a knot. These two knots are found at the side of the basket or at the middle of the wall and are in most cases tied with a thread wrapping to prevent an interruption of the rim at that place. The strips coming out of the braid are interwoven in such a way that a sleeve form results, the opening of which, below, is closed by a double braid whose two ends at the two sides of the basket pass through the wall and come out again on the outside of the wall, each one ending in a knot. The ends of the braids of the bottom of basket I. A. 683 (cf. Figure 97 /see p. 158/ form at the same time the handle of the basket. The handles of other baskets of this kind consist of a string or a strip of leather.

C Ca 286 [301] Braids like or similar to those which sometimes form the handles of the baskets described above are used by the Chiriguano and the Izozó in other cases as well, such as sometimes in the fringes of the fajas and especially for making the middle section of the women's hair bands previously mentioned.

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Ce 28b

Plate XXX

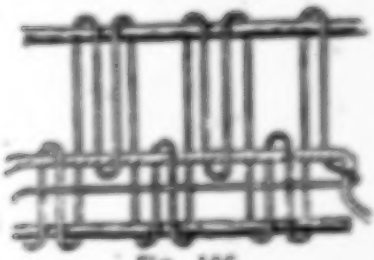

Fig. 105

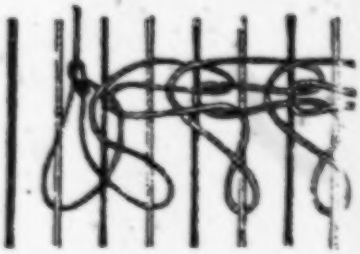

Fig. 106

Ce 30l 28b

Fig. 107

Fig. 108

Fig. 109

Fig. 110

C Ce 30l 28b 415

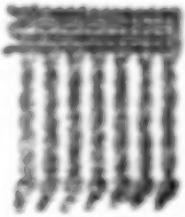

Fig. 111

Fig. 112

Fig. 113

/The captions appear on p. 179./

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)
[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm. (Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which perhaps had already been used by several generations. They are [322] called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small perforations .. A similar flute shown in a sketch by v. Rosen (299) [301]

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament. 534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising 174 191

300. Nord. 3, pp. 187 and 188.

resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

/86 cont./

CE 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 220.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C CE 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.